

EXHIBIT A

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO
WESTERN DIVISION

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1	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	:	CASE NO. 1:20-CR-0077
2		:	
3		:	
4	Plaintiff,	:	JURY TRIAL, DAY 24
5	vs.	:	
6		:	7th day of March, 2023
7	LARRY HOUSEHOLDER, et al.	:	
8		:	
9	Defendant.	:	

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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS
BEFORE THE HONORABLE TIMOTHY S. BLACK, JUDGE

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APPEARANCES:

For the Plaintiff:

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5 Also present: Larry Householder
6 Matthew Borges
7 Blane Wetzel, FBI Special Agent
Kelly Terry, paralegal
PJ Jensen, trial tech

8 Law Clerk: Cristina V. Frankian, Esq.

9 Courtroom Deputy: Rebecca Santoro

10 Stenographer: Lisa Conley Yungblut, RDR, RMR, CRR, CRC
11 United States District Court
12 100 East Fifth Street
13 Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
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1 ballot referendum, to delete it all after it was over. This
2 is concealment, and it shows corrupt intent.

3 You also heard from enterprise members and statements
4 by enterprise members, and out of the five people we just
5 walked through, four of them admit either through testimony
6 or in recordings that Mr. Householder had a corrupt
7 relationship with FirstEnergy. You heard Mr. Cespedes and
8 Mr. Longstreth both testify under oath that Mr. Householder
9 was involved in a bribery scheme, money in return for
10 legislation. You heard Neil Clark say on recordings that
11 Mr. Householder received millions of dollars from
12 FirstEnergy and he went to war for them, that it was pay to
13 play. And, again, you heard Mr. Borges characterize the
14 relationship between FirstEnergy and Householder and his
15 firm as an unholy alliance. So the statements out of the
16 mouth of four of the five enterprise members support the
17 bribery agreement.

18 You also walked through and saw just a lot of
19 documents, a lot of e-mails, a lot of bank records, a lot of
20 phone records, they all support this same conclusion. But
21 in the end, in the end, the volume of money, the sheer
22 volume of money, of the 64 million that was brought into --
23 that was received by Generation Now during this period,
24 there were 56 contributors who were not FirstEnergy. Of
25 those 56 contributors, they combined gave \$4.4 million. So

1 56 entities gave \$4.4 million and one entity gave \$60
2 million.

3 Now, let's be clear, Mr. Householder did not take the
4 \$60 million and put it in his pocket, and that's not what
5 was required. The question is: Was it a thing of value?
6 And, of course, it was, he made that clear on a recording.
7 Increasing political power is important. (Recording
8 playing.) Using the money to make sure that his political
9 power is intact was one of the purposes of the enterprise.
10 And he funded his candidates, he won his Speakership, he
11 paid for his staff, he funded his efforts, and he used it to
12 make sure that his priorities passed, and in the process,
13 kept some money aside for himself.

14 All right. Let's walk through the first batch of
15 payments. In early 2017, the plan became clear, FirstEnergy
16 was going to bankroll Householder's operation, his political
17 machine. You heard testimony from Jeff Longstreth about the
18 inauguration, the meeting at Charlie Palmer steakhouse, the
19 meeting at the Palm that followed. What did he testify? He
20 testified that there was a dinner on January 18th, Mike
21 Dowling was there, Jeff Longstreth was there, Chuck Jones
22 was there, and Mr. Longstreth and Mr. Dowling talked about
23 the issues. They talked about the fact that Longstreth
24 needed FirstEnergy to be supportive, and Mr. Dowling said
25 FirstEnergy would be very supportive of the Speaker, but

1 they need to get moving on this. They need to set up an
2 organization where they could receive undisclosed, unlimited
3 contributions.

4 The next night or the night after, there's a dinner
5 with Householder and Longstreth and Chuck Jones and Mike
6 Dowling and Tony George, Householder's team at the time and
7 the top brass at FirstEnergy. In that meeting, in that
8 dinner, Householder laid out his plan for becoming Speaker:
9 Recruit candidates, raise money, get elected, and have them
10 vote for him for Speaker.

11 At that same dinner, FirstEnergy executives laid out
12 what they needed. They weren't profitable. They needed a
13 solution, and they needed it at the federal level and the
14 state level, but they were going to need legislation, and
15 they laid out the problems with the plans. Now, remember,
16 Mr. Longstreth testified that the whole reason for the
17 inauguration trip was so that they could raise money, that
18 was why they were there. So Chuck Jones and Mike Dowling
19 knew that the Speaker needed money, they knew what he needed
20 money for. And Mr. Householder knew they needed that --
21 that FirstEnergy needed legislative help.

22 And this testimony is consistent with the documents
23 that you've seen. It was not an accident that Householder
24 and the FirstEnergy executives ended up together having this
25 discussion. These are hotel receipts from Tony George,

1 identical for both Chuck Jones and Larry Householder, the
2 same hotel, the same day. The reservations were made
3 literally within a minute of each other. Those reservations
4 are from January 18th to January 21st, all paid for by
5 Chuck -- by Tony George. So Tony George, a friend of Chuck
6 Jones, a FirstEnergy consultant, is floating
7 Mr. Householder's hotel room, a hotel room that he did not
8 include on his financial disclosure reports.

9 Householder took the jet, the FirstEnergy jet, to the
10 inauguration. And you saw the itineraries of what they
11 planned to do. This is an e-mail from Jeff Longstreth to
12 Householder. They had dinner reservations at Charlie
13 Palmer, multiple dinner reservations at the Palm, all
14 matching up with Mr. Longstreth's testimony. That itinerary
15 matches the itinerary from FirstEnergy listing those same
16 dinners with Larry Householder.

17 And then you saw the pictures, the photos from
18 January 18th, 2017, Mr. Householder with his son meeting
19 with Marcus Luttrell. And then later, in a limo, on
20 January 18th, 2017 at 10:20 p.m., you can see the pants
21 Mr. Householder is wearing match the pants in the limo. You
22 can see Mr. Householder's son in the limo next to Mike --
23 two people down from Mike Dowling. You saw Mr. Householder
24 at 10:30 at night out with individuals who were in the same
25 limousine. And you saw evidence that that picture from the

1 limo was taken just outside of Charlie Palmer steakhouse.
2 All of this consistent with what Mr. Longstreth described.

3 But you heard a different story, and that story was
4 during Mr. Householder's testimony. His testimony is not
5 consistent with this evidence. He did not tell the truth in
6 his testimony about his trip to Washington, DC. He
7 testified that he went with his son on January 18th, that he
8 went to the Marcus Luttrell meeting and then went out with
9 his son, went home early because his wife and his other sons
10 were coming the next day. He testified that he only saw
11 Mike Dowling on the flight and at a luncheon on the 19th,
12 and that he did not go to Charlie Palmer steakhouse.

13 All of those statements are completely contradicted by
14 the evidence that you've seen, the evidence that you're
15 looking at right now. He was out on January 18th at a bar,
16 in a limo, with Mike Dowling at the Charlie Palmer
17 steakhouse. Mr. Householder's testimony was not true.

18 And so what -- what do you draw from that? The
19 reasonable inference is that's concealment. And what does
20 concealment show? That there was something to hide. And
21 why would he hide it? Because it's evidence of his
22 corruption. This is where you use your common sense. He
23 flew on FirstEnergy's jet. He stayed in a hotel funded by
24 FirstEnergy. He went out to dinner and meetings with them
25 and talked about his need for money and their need for a

1 solution. And then what happened next? The money started
2 pouring in.

3 There are phone calls between Householder and Chuck
4 Jones directly after the meeting. You heard Mr. Longstreth
5 testify, within shortly after the inauguration,
6 Mr. Householder walked into his office and said FirstEnergy
7 is going to give us a million dollars. That is supported by
8 the documents, including phone records, meeting invites.
9 This is an e-mail from February 6th showing that Chuck Jones
10 talked to Larry Householder that day, the same day,
11 Generation Now incorporated and set up a bank account, the
12 same day that Jeff Longstreth e-mailed Mike Dowling about
13 Generation Now. So on the same day that Chuck Jones and
14 Larry Householder are talking about legislation, they
15 created Generation Now and e-mailed Mike Dowling about
16 funding Generation Now.

17 A month later, it's approved, \$1 million in four
18 \$250,000 increments. The documents and evidence paint a
19 pretty clear picture, FirstEnergy paid the money to
20 Householder so that he could help them with legislation.

21 And the text messages and documents backed that up.
22 Within a month later, several months later, Householder --
23 or Longstreth testified -- texted Mike Dowling: Let me know
24 if there's anything that we can do for you guys. And how
25 did he respond: I know that you guys are there for us. How

1 did he know they were there for us? Because they had talked
2 about it, because they've already entered the agreement.

3 Shortly after that, you heard testimony from Longstreth
4 about the meeting at the Greenbrier between Chuck Jones and
5 Mike Dowling and Jeff Longstreth, and what did he say? Jeff
6 Longstreth testified that they talked -- he gave an update
7 about the Speaker's plan, a deep, detailed summary of
8 candidate recruitment and where they were with the race.
9 And what did Chuck Jones say? We need a state solution, we
10 need the legislation, we have to get Householder over the
11 line because he wouldn't let anything bad happen to us.
12 They had to get Householder into the Speakership.

13 And the documents back it up. The Greenbrier, the
14 meeting with Chuck Jones and Longstreth and Dowling. The
15 follow-up e-mail about the next \$250,000 payment into
16 Generation Now. And the meeting between Householder and
17 Chuck Jones that followed. You're going to see a pattern as
18 we go through each of these payments: Householder needs
19 money, he reaches out to FirstEnergy, and they come through.

20 All right. Let's walk through how just this first
21 payment benefitted Mr. Householder personally. So as you
22 can see, the beginning balance in February was zero. They
23 had just opened the account. It was funded by a \$25,000
24 payment, and then the document on the other side shows
25 March 16th, \$250,000 payment from Generation Now. So at

1 this point, Generation Now is substantially funded by
2 FirstEnergy money.

3 What did Mr. Longstreth's bank records show? They were
4 basically empty. There's \$5,000 in the bank account until
5 Generation Now started funding Jeff Longstreth's account,
6 including a \$23,000 check and a \$43,000 check. So the money
7 flowed from FirstEnergy into Generation Now. Generation Now
8 paid the money into Jeff Longstreth, and Jeff Longstreth
9 paid the money out to pay for Larry Householder's attorneys.
10 This \$60,000 check -- these two \$30,000 checks in May of
11 2017 are the direct result of the money from FirstEnergy
12 into Generation Now. That's how they were funded. So the
13 payment, with the expectation of legislation down the road,
14 was then used -- into Generation Now, was then used in these
15 two checks, both of which are more than \$10,000.

16 The reasonable conclusion based on this evidence and
17 the testimony from Longstreth and all of the documents and
18 messages and witness testimony and your common sense are
19 that Householder knew that that million dollars, a million
20 dollars, was given with an expectation, and the expectation
21 was that he would use it to become Speaker, and he would
22 pass that state solution, just like Chuck Jones said at the
23 Greenbrier.

24 This is a racketeering predicate, and these two checks,
25 the proceeds of that bribe money, are racketeering